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This paper, prepared for a faculty seminar in conjunction with an NDEA International Affairs Institute, examines data collected in numerous studies on the political attitudes of children and adolescents. Four widely used models derived to deal with political socialization (the accumulation model, the identification model, the role transfer model, and the cognitive development model) and one less frequently used model (the reduction expansion model) are offered in the opening pages. The major portion of the document deals with the state of current descriptive information (derived from questionnaire responses with interviews) about the attitudes and information which children (grades 2 through 8) may have about the United States and other countries: attitudes and beliefs about the nation, communism, the Soviet Union and Red China, the United Nations, the President and the national government, other nations in relation to the United States, and war and peace. The influence of curriculum and teacher behavior on children's attitudes is also explored. A 19-item bibliography is included. (SM)

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PERSPECTIVES ON THE INTERNATIONAL KNOWLEDGE AND ATTITUDES OF CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS.[1]

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(Prepared especially for a Faculty Seminar in conjunction with an NDEA International Affairs Institute, Indiana University, 1968.)

The young daughter of a friend of mine is very much aware of an African boy in her nursery class. After hearing about this boy for several weeks, the girl's parents inquired how her friend got to and from school. Her reply was, "He couldn't take a cab; he must go by bus or train because Africa is too far away for a cab to go." As adults we may have several reactions to this misunderstanding of international distance and residence. We may be amused by the misconception. We may respond, "Isn't it strange that no one told her that he doesn't live in Africa now" or "why do you suppose she would assume that if he's African he would have to live in Africa." In

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1. Some of the data referred to in this paper is presented in detail in a book by Robert Hess and Judith Torney entitled The Development of Political Attitudes in Children., Chicago, Ill.; Aldine Publishing Co., and in Torney and Hess, "The Development of International Attitudes and Beliefs in Children" (unpublished). The research was supported by the Office of Education, Cooperative Research Project 1078, (Robert Hess and David Easton, Senior Co-directors) and was done while Dr. Hess, Dr. Easton and Dr. Torney were at the University of Chicago. Supplementary data analysis was supported by the Office of Education Small Contract S-209 and is reported in Structural Dimensions of Children's Political Attitude-Concept Systems: A Study of Developmental and Measurement Aspects, Judith Torney's dissertation.

Other material included here is drawn from "A Review of Existing and Needed Research on the Development of International Orientations During Childhood and Adolescence" by the author, Lee Anderson, and Harry Targ. The review was supported by the Office of Education and the Foreign Policy Association and by a faculty fellowship from Illinois Institute of Technology.

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fact these comments match to some extent a current set of models about how children acquire beliefs and attitudes about the national and international system (and about other social systems to which they may belong). Consultants who will be called upon to deal with teachers and curriculum which have their own implicit (and in some cases explicit) models of the way in which the process of socialization and learning occurs need to consider these models. Thinking about the psychological process by which a child takes on social attitudes and values concerning the international system expands the sensitivity of both teachers and consultants to many things that are going on in the classroom. It focuses upon the ways that children reduce and modify the experience and information which comes their way in order to fit it into their own modes of thought. It awakens new concern with concepts such as attention. Mary Alice White (1967) discusses this as the operation of the "interest filter;" what does not capture the child's interest is neither attended to nor retained. Much experience is thus simply filtered out. Secondly, by realizing the types of models held by teachers concerning the way in which children learn, we may be able to focus upon aspects of teachers' motivation in order tc understand why the same curriculum materials are taught so differently by different teachers and in order to modify curriculum and teaching practices.

Models of Political Socializations

The following four models were derived particularly to deal with the political socialization to national systems---socialization into the role of American citizen---which occurs in elementary school children. These models have considerable relevance for understanding the development of views of the international

world and perhaps even socialization into world citizenship.

a) The Accumulation Model--This approach makes the assumption that skills, attitudes, and role expectations are simply accumulated in relatively unrelated units. Adults make frequent, direct and specific attempts to teach children those things which they believe that children should know. Because there need not be any logical consistency between the elements presented to the child, this might be called the "confetti theory" of storage and retrieval. It makes few assumptions about the child's abilities or needs as they may limit or facilitate the teaching process. Someone who implicitly follows the Accumulation Model is likely to expect that what is presented by the teacher and what is learned by the pupil will be identical. A curriculum that requires that the child memorize dates or facts by repetitive drill or that he learn to apply a single method of problem solving by plugging given numbers into formulas to produce solutions illustrates this model.

b) Role Transfer Model[2]--This model stresses the patterns of need fulfillment and motivations that the child possesses as a product of his experience in different roles--as a boy or girl child in his family and as a pupil in his school. He brings those already acquired motivations and expectations to the current learning situation. There is considerable overlap between systems in the socialization process. Sex roles and roles adopted in response to parental authority are probably adopted by the

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2. Identical with the Interpersonal Role Transfer Model discussed by Hess and Torney (1967).

child in dealing with the political authority system as well. The assumption is that children structure, modify and may also distort information in accordance with the internalized structure of their roles and associated needs.

There are many similarities between this approach and concerns of the educator. Attempts to facilitate transfer of learning, learning sets, and curricula which include the application of past experience to the understanding of the motivation of characters in literature are examples.

c) Identification Model[3]--This point of view stresses the child's modeling of the behavior or attitudes of some other person--usually a parent or teacher--even though the adult may never have discussed the attitude with the child. The child may either model small units of behavior or he may take care on general identifications (like political party). In some cases the child may understand none of the ramifications of party identification, and the identification may therefore lack consistent relationship with attitudes toward partisan issues or candidates.

This model is adopted by schools when they bring scientists into the classroom with the hope that children will adopt elements of the scientific method. The use of the inquiry method in the laboratory and the simulation and role playing methods in

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3. An Identification Model is one of the three major models of attitude change proposed by Kelman (1958); this model is similar to the cue-learning model presented by Queener (1949) and to models discussed by Sears, Macoby and Levin (1957).

social studies are other ways in which this model is used. (Shaftel and Shaftel, 1967) There may be large gaps in the child's background of information or attitudes when learning occurs in this way. This method is most useful in understanding the acquisition of motivation and value orientations (such as participant citizen action) and least useful in explaining the acquisition of specific information.

d) Cognitive-Development Model--Here the emphasis is upon the existence within the child of tendencies to transform, stabilize and differentiate knowledge as well as to store it for retrieval. It serves to explain some of the slippage between learning and teaching and is in some respects a reaction against the "confetti theory" assumed by the Acculumation Model. To quote Piaget: "the great mystery of development....is irreducible to an accumulation of isolated learning acquisitions." (Piaget 1967, p. 533) This model points out that the child's capacity to deal with certain concepts has an influence upon the learning he demonstrates. The distinction between concrete and abstract (Werner, 1948), between formal and concrete operations (the work of Piaget reviewed by Flavell, 1963) and the process of development of differentiated sex role (Kohlberg, 1966) are among the sources of this model.

This model when applied to the classroom gives clues to stumbling blocks children experience in the learning process. For example, it may be difficult to inculcate the value of internationalism when the child cannot think of himself as

performing roles in more than one social system. As a second example, the acceptance of the value of disagreement within the national government requires that children be able to perceive an ideal of government operation and contrast it with the realities of a given practical political situation.

Although it is not one of the models extensively used in the political socialization material, it is interesting to speculate also about the reduction-expansion model--proposed originally by Roger Brown to account for language learning in toddlers (1965). According to Brown, who is generalizing from an intensive observation of language learning in a few children, the child expresses an idea in the following form--"truck." The mother expands the form--"That is a truck." The child reduces again--"Dat truck." Similarly in attitude development one may look at the child's attitude as he reacts to and retains one element of a situation, focusing upon and reducing the situation to terms he can cope with. In the case of language learning, the elements focused upon are usually the words with the greatest information content. In attitude development, on the other hand, it is often either a relatively unimportant or a distorted aspect of the situation upon which the child's attention remains, as this interview with an eight year old boy in 1967 suggests:

I. Are there things the government does that the citizens shouldn't meddle with?

S. Yes (pause)

I. Like what?

S. (Long pause) Oh Boy! Uh, like their marriages of their family, the President's family.

Much of the child's attitude development, particularly his growing understanding of the political influence process, may occur in line with the reduction-expansion model. The child may reduce the information he hears about pressure groups, power and dissent to simple terms--"you could write to the President." Subsequently this view may be expanded when the child's cognitive equipment becomes more mature and he requires less reduction of complexity. A more complete analysis of this model (which draws particularly from the Cognitive-developmental and Role Transfer point of view) would demand observation of the process of attitude development and modification as it goes on in situations such as those that occur in the classroom. The work of Mary Alice White (White and Boehm, 1968), who observes children when they are asked to teach each other, may be useful in understanding the conditions under which elements are reduced and the conditions under which they are expanded by the child himself.

Source of Data

Let us move now to national and international socialization and the state of current descriptive information about the attitudes and information of children. I was involved for nearly seven years with a project at the University of Chicago which used a quite detailed questionnaire to study the attitudes of 12,000 U. S. elementary school children (grades two through eight) in eight cities in the United States (testing done in 1962). The data related to national political socialization are reported in more detail in a book, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, by Robert Hess and myself, and in a paper, "The

Development of International Attitudes and Beliefs in Children," an unpublished paper by myself and Robert Hess. The organization which we used in analyzing the national data was the following. First, we attempted to delineate socialization as a process by which the child develops conceptions of, ideal norms about, attachments or positive feelings toward, and skills of participation in the country and government. And we described the changes which take place in these elements over the elementary school years. In the process of this nationwide study of national political socialization, some information of a descriptive type dealing with international orientations was also gathered. Certain other material with international relevance was obtained in a pilot study prior to the nationwide testing.[4]

Nationalism and Internationalism in Children

Let me review the findings of both the nationwide and the pilot study--particularly attitudes toward America as a nation (what we might call nationalism) and toward America as a participant in the international system. We found that children of the youngest age tested (six years old) had formed a strong and positive attachment to their country. When we asked in interviews why children would rather be Americans than of any other

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4. All reported pilot study data was collected in the form of statements with three alternatives: Yes - No - Don't Know. These agree-disagree items were administered to fourth, sixth, and eighth graders of low and middle social status in 1961. These data will be identified as pilot study data, although they are based upon information from a substantial number of respondents. The size of groups tested at each grade varied from 98 in the smallest to 195 in the largest.

nationality, they gave us replies like, "I'd rather be an American because I like America better, because we have freedom, and I know more people here." In the nationwide group, with regard to feelings of nationalistic pride, a very high percentage of both younger and older children agreed with the statement, "America is the best country in the world."

Table 1

Attachment to the Nation

America is the best country in the world.

Grade	Yes	DK	No
2	84%	9%	6%
3	84	9	7
4	84	8	8
5	87	7	6
6	86	7	7
7	89	7	5
8	91	5	4

Note: N's for each grade range from 1626 to 1795--Nationwide Data Table to be published in Torney and Hess (in preparation).

Table 2

Changes by Grade in Basis of Pride in American Citizenship

Grade	Americans Are Generous	America Has Beautiful Parks	Americans Vote for Leaders	Americans Have Freedom	Our President
2	35%	37%	24%	52%	46%
3	22	30	35	76	31
4	14	22	47	86	21
5	10	13	65	92	11
6	9	8	72	94	7
7	5	4	82	96	6
8	3	4	84	96	4

Notes. Item: What makes you the most proud to be an American? Check two things that make you most proud. (1) Americans are the most generous people in the world; (2) America has beautiful parks and highways; (3) Americans can vote for their own leaders; (4) Americans have freedom; (5) our President.

Children were asked to choose two alternatives.

Percentages do not always sum to two hundred percent for any grade because some children chose only one alternative or chose "I don't know."

Note: N's for each grade range from 1640 to 1786--Nationwide sample table adapted from Hess and Torney (1967).

Data in Table 2 indicate that increasingly with age children chose American ideology and aspects of the political process in preference to the President and to non-political aspects of America and its people when asked what made them most proud to be American. Only 24 percent of second graders chose the right to vote as a source of pride; 84 percent of eighth graders chose this alternative. The importance of freedom to our system increased to a high level at an even earlier age. Fifty-two percent of second graders and 96% of eighth graders chose this alternative. These positive feelings about the country become focused on those aspects of American political process which distinguish it most clearly from other countries. These are also abstract qualities of the system; they represent ideals about how the system should operate rather than statements which reflect any actual experience in dealing with the system.

It is reasonably clear that at an early age the overwhelming majority of children have strong positive feelings about their country which appear to remain strong through elementary school (and presumably into later life as well). Children also focus their pride in being American more and more upon ideological aspects of America as a nation; pride in freedom and voting are almost unanimous among eighth graders. Action by the school in the direction of this type of socialization of nationalsim may be redundant once the early elementary years have passed.

Tables 3 through 7 give further insight into the image which these children have of their country and of its relation to other countries. These data indicate also the developmental changes which occur in these images.

Table 3

Beliefs About America

America tries to prevent wars more than any other country.

Grade	Yes	DK	No
4	63%	14%	22%
6	68	14	18
8	63	16	20

America is the richest country in the world.

Grade	Yes	DK	No
4	33%	20%	46%
6	37	19	43
8	46	16	39

America helps people in other countries more than anybody else.

Grade	Yes	DK	No
4	54%	17%	29%
6	65	15	20
8	60	15	25

The United States has more people in it than any other country in the world.

Grade	Yes	DK	No
4	29%	22%	49%
6	12	12	76
8	4	7	89

Table 3 (Continued)

The United States is the leader of the world.

Grade	Yes	DK	No
4	28%	30%	42%
6	27	22	51
8	39	25	36

America is the strongest country in the world.

Grade	Yes	DK	No
4	40%	22%	36%
6	28	23	48
8	21	28	40

America controls the world.

Grade	Yes	DK	No
4	14%	13%	73%
6	6	7	87
8	6	8	86

Note: N's for each grade range from 98 - 195--Pilot Data Table to be published in Torney and Hess (in preparation).

Pilot data (Table 3) suggest that America, in relation to the other countries of the world, is seen by the majority of children at each grade as seeking to be helpful and peaceful.

Older children are not as likely to claim for America the honor of being the most populous nation, although they are more likely to view America as the world's richest country. There is concensus that America does not control the world, some decline in the belief that America is the strongest country, and some uncertainty about the U. S. as the leader of the world. In summary, within the international context, children at all levels place high positive valuation on their country--justifying this with the belief that America helps people in other countries, tries to prevent war, has the ideological (and real) advantage of freedom, and has a worthy political process which allows citizens to vote in free elections.

From interviews conducted as part of the pilot phase we learned that symbols of the nation such as the flag and Statue of Liberty seem important as objects for attachment and for conceptualizing our country's heritage for the young child.

To further investigate the part played by national symbols, in a supplementary study in 1964 we asked children to choose the best picture to show what America is; the flag and the Statue of Liberty received the largest number of choices at all grade levels (with the exception of grade two where George Washington received the largest number). We were also able to demonstrate that even young children seem to make a differentiation between <u>America</u> (their country) and the <u>government</u>. The flag and the Statue of Liberty are infrequently chosen as symbols of the government of America. In other words, the youngest children in

our sample had been oriented toward the symbols of America as a nation--probably as a result of experience in attending public events, in exposure to television, as well as in school. Specific acts of patriotic ritual, e.g., saying the pledge of allegiance and singing patriotic songs, are frequently performed in the classroom. More than 99 percent of the surveyed classrooms displayed the American Flag; more than 90 percent of the teachers reported that the children said the pledge to the flag daily; 58 percent of the teachers of grade two reported that a patriotic song was sung daily. Although it is debatable whether the school is the only agent serving to socialize the child into national feeling, time each day is spent in fostering a sense of awe and submission with regard to the symbols of government and stressing the group nature of national feeling.

By grade four, most American children have quite accurate ideas about the relationship between communism and Russia (foreign countries are not all communist, but neither is communism limited to Russia). And the majority of children agree with the commonly presented image of the Soviet Union (lack of freedom particularly in voting choice, less wealth, and government control). However, fewer fourth graders than sixth and eighth graders are informed on these matters. The majority of fourth graders and nearly all sixth and eighth graders expressed the belief that the Communists want to take over our country; a somewhat smaller but still large percentage agreed to the somewhat more loaded statement "we can never rest as long as there are any Communists in our country." The majority of children at all

grades believed that it is the Russian leaders rather than the people of Russia who are the enemies of the United States--one way for children to displace the aggressive feelings upon a small group while prescribing friendliness and tolerance for the majority of people.

Given these positions, what course do children believe the United States should follow? Unfortunately, information on this was very limited. Children seem to prescribe for national and international relations much the same kind of behavior which they find prescribed for themselves as children. By displacing the blame for tension upon the Russian leaders, they can suggest that friendliness and tolerance are possible means. But in this area, as well as in many other areas of national political socialization, children see foreign relations in an over-simplified way. They focus upon individual citizens having the ability to change international relations by personal acts of influence. In data concerning national politics we called this the "personal clout" illusion. For example, children believe that the individual citizen in America can have nearly as much influence on political action as highly organized interest groups. This is much of what children are taught as the ideals of citizen participation in government. Likewise friendliness on an individualized-international scale sounds plausible as an ideal but is naive and may even have some more negative consequences. It may stand in the way of the child developing realistic perceptions about international relations and the power involved in them; it may also cause a particularly strong disillusionment

when the child discovers that the world is not made up of Russians and Red Chinese who can be converted to democracy by acts of personal friendliness. We have some suggestive evidence from the children who were studied in 1962 that political cynicism may result when the individual discovers that his control over the government is less than phrases such as "the people rule" might suggest.

Table 4

Beliefs About Communism

All foreign countries are Communist.

Grade	Yes	DK	No
4	19%	32%	49%
6	6	9	85
8	6	3	91

All Communists are Russian.

Grade	Yes	DK	No
4	27%	29%	44%
6	20	6	74
8	1	7	92

Russians are poorer than Americans.

Grade	Yes	DK	No
4	47%	14%	39%
6	65	16	19
8	66	18	16

Table 4 (Continued)

In Russia people are forced to vote for whomever the Communists put up.

Grade	Yes	DK	No
4	55%	31%	14%
6	85	11	4
8	77	16	6

In Communism everybody works for the government, not for themselves.

Grade	Yes	DK	No
4	31%	36%	32%
6	77	16	6
8	74	18	8

To live in a Communist country means to be "not free."

Grade	Yes	DK	No
4	56%	24%	20%
6	89	8	4
8	76	3	21

Note: N's for each grade range from 98 to 195 - Pilot Study
Table to be published in Torney and Hess (in preparation).

Table 5

Beliefs About Communist Threat To America

The Communists want to take over our country.

Grade	Yes	DK	No
4	66%	7%	17%
6	96	3	1
8	87	6	7

We can never relax as long as there are any Communists in our country.

Grade	Yes	DK	No
4	42%	18%	40%
6	62	14	24
8	64	7	29

Note: N's for each grade range from 98 to 195--Pilot Study Table to be published in Torney and Hess (in preparation).

Table 6

Beliefs About Russian/American Relations

It is not the Russian people who are our enemies; rather it is the men who rule Russia.

Grade	Yes	DK	No
4	65%	9%	25%
6	88	4	8
8	92	3	4

Table 6 (Continued)

The United States ought to try to make friends with Red China and Russia.

Grade	Yes	DK	No
4	60%	22%	18%
6	63	14	23
8	64	11	24

Note: N's for each grade range from 98 to 195--Pilot Study Table to be published in Torney and Hess (in preparation).

An interesting sidelight on the morality of international action prosed by children is presented in Table 7. There is a definite decline with age in agreement with the statement "It is all right for the government to lie to another country if the lie protects the American people." National interest takes somewhat less priority in older children (though a substantial number of them still agree).

Table 7

Beliefs about the Justification of Lying to Protect National Interest

It is all right for the government to lie to another country if the lie protects the American people.

Grade	Yes	DK	No
3	50%	17%	33%
4	40	16	44
5	39	13	48
6	31	13	57
7	31	11	58
8	25	13	62

Note: N's for each grade range from 1667 to 1797--Nationwide study table to be published in Torney and Hess (in preparation).

Children's Attitudes Toward the U.N.

In addition to studies of children's orientations toward their own and other countries, there is some research focusing upon the development of children's orientations to the United Nations.

In the Hess and Torney nationwide study, children were asked to indicate whether the United States or the United Nations made the greater contribution to world peace. At grade two, only 14 percent of the children chose the United Nations as contributing more than the United States to preventing war. At grade eight, 87 percent of the children chose the United Nations. The most striking age trends in the attitude occurred before grade six (see Hess and Torney, 1967, Table 3).

The United Nations also was included in the nationwide questionnaire as one of a list of issues. The child was to indicate whether he had talked about each problem and, if so, whether he had taken sides. There was, as with all the issues, a clear increase with age in the percentage of children saying that they had discussed and taken sides in their discussion. The United Nations ranked second (the Space Race was first) in the percentage of children who reported having discussed it. "Giving money to other countries" was also of interest as an issue but to a somewhat lesser degree.

Approximately 70 percent of the children in the Hess-Torney pilot study felt that the U.S. does a good job in preventing wars. As far as suggesting changes in the U.N. about 45 percent of the children believed the U.S. ought to do more to support the U.N.

while only 35 percent advocated the U.N. having more power over member countries.

Children's Attitudes Toward the President and the National Government

In addition to this material that concerns rather directly the child's attitudes toward international relations, let me comment briefly upon other facets of political socialization that were collected in a specifically nationalistic context but may be generalized into an international context.

Young children structure their perceptions of the world in simple and concrete ways. In order to cope with the complexity of a political institution (for which clear and concrete symbols such as the flag and Statue of Liberty are not provided), children initially conceptualize the governmental system as a person to whom they develop a personalized relationship. As children become attached to such a person, they become related to the political system. To the child, the government is a man who lives in Washington while Congress is "a lot of men who help the President." There is a rapid change with age in conceptualization of the government, particularly a decline with age in choice of the President as the best picture of government and the choice instead of Congress or voting (the ballot box). Nearly 50 percent of eighth graders chose these impersonal or institutional aspects as closer to their own idea of the government.

Table 8

Changes by Grade in Perception of Personal Responsiveness of President and of Supreme Court

(Percentage choosing alternative "Would always want to help me if I needed it" on a rating scale.)

Grade	President	Supreme Court
4	46%	24%
5	40	22
6	34	24
7	32	18
8	27	24

Note: N's for each grade range from 1299 to 1794--Nationwide study table adapted from data in Hess and Torney (1967).

Table 9

Changes by Grade in Perception of Decision Making of President and of Supreme Court

(Percentage choosing alternative "Makes important decisions all the time" on a rating scale.)

Grade	President	Supreme Court
4	51%	30%
5	52	36
6	53	44
7	56	37
8	59	52

Note: N's for each grade range from 1307 to 1800--Nationwide study table adapted from data in Hess and Torney (1967).

Children's ratings of qualities of the President and of governmental institutions also change over the elementary school period (Tables 8 and 9). Young children feel that they know the President personally. The average second grade child thought that the President would be nearly as helpful to him if he were in trouble as would the policeman or his own father. Younger children believe that the President is involved both in decisions about whether there should be war and also with matters that affect their city or neighborhood, such as where stop lights should be installed. In contrast, most students in grade eight rate the President as much like impersonal and distant agencies such as the Supreme Court.

Older children can differentiate between the personal characteristic of the President and the types of competence he must have to perform his job. They like him less and expect less personal protection from him, but they have a continuing respect for his executive abilities. (Table 9) Modal ratings of the President's role performance classified him as "knowing more" and "working harder" than most people, "always a leader," and "making important decisions all the time." The first three ratings had means which were quite constant from the fourth through the eighth grade; ratings of his decision-making were higher at the more advanced level. The older child is more likely to view the President as someone whose abilities allow him to meet the demands of his office.

The older child focuses on leadership and decision-making as qualities of those institutions of government which do not have

highly visible personal representatives. There is considerable increase with age in the mean ratings of the Supreme Court and the government on knowledge and decision-making. (Table 9 is one example.) Expectation of personal protection from the Supreme Court, for example, is much less widespread than is the expectation of protection from the President. (Table 8) The increase with age in regard for the office of the Presidency and for institutions whose offices are filled by unknown individuals is an example of the acquisition of relationships with roles rather than with persons and is particularly important in maintaining support for the governmental structure when role occupants change.

The importance that the President holds in the young child's conceptualization of government does not seem to be determined only by classroom learning. It may be influenced by the mass media, but it also reflects the child's tendency to focus upon a personal representative of the political system because he is not cognitively ready to comprehend the government as an abstract institutionalized entity. He reduces the information presented to him by the school or the mass media, focusing upon that portion of it which matches best his own needs or interests. He may also transfer to the President the approach to personalized authority which has been useful to him in dealing with other social systems such as the school.

A Cross National Study of Children's National and International Attitudes

In the only major cross national study of children's orientations to foreign people, Lambert and Klineberg (1967) used a structured interview schedule, with 3,300 children at three age

levels (6, 10 and 14 years), from eleven parts of the world. The material gathered in the United States was gathered in Watertown, Massachusetts, and included both boys and girls from upper middle and working class. The following are conclusions from the authors' profile of the responses of American children. Children in the United States do not think of themselves primarily in terms of national background. This was inferred from answers to the first question in the interview schedule, "What are you?" Less than ten percent of the children in Watertown referred to themselves as "American" or as being from New England. The most popular response was to say that they were a boy or a girl. When these children were asked for adjectives to describe their national group, they placed special emphasis on "wealthy" and "free." This was in contrast to other countries, such as Japan, in which children frequently referred to themselves as "bad" and "poor." Children were also asked what nationality they would wish to be if they were not American. Most said they would not wish to be of any other nationality; particularly they disclaimed any desire to be Russian because of political domination and "aggressive" people there; they would not have preferred to be African either because of perceived cultural and environmental backwardness of African nations.

Among the most important questions were those to determine whether children perceived a country as similar to or different from themselves; children were also asked in what ways the countries were similar or different. The groups which were perceived as predominantly different by all ages were Chinese,

Indians from India, Negroes from Africa and Russians. Younger children tended either to give no response or to determine similarity or difference on the basis of clothing, physical characteristics and language. Ten-year-old children often referred to habits and material possessions, while political characteristics and habits were the predominant focus of fourteen-year-old students.

American children stood out from the other groups in the degree of their liking for people of different countries, particularly as this liking was not directly correlated with similarity. In other words, American children seemed to express interest and liking for people who were dissimilar from themselves as well as for those who were perceived as similar. This was in contrast with other countries in which testing was conducted.

Certain of the material which Lambert and Klineberg present on stereotypes, on the ways in which similarity and difference are defined, on the existence of stereotyped responses, and on age differences in feelings about foreign people are relevant. For our interest, some of the clearest results came from the total group including children from all countries. Early in the book the following quotation appears: "Children in certain cultural settings consider themselves as minority or majority members of a world community." (Lambert and Klineberg, 1966, p. VII.) It might be added that children in many parts of the world consider certain other groups as minority members of the world community. In particular, the Chinese and African Negroes were considered by many of the children to be "not like us." The qualities which

children in the total group used to determine similarity and differences were common or uncommon historical roots, geographic proximity or distance, similar or dissimilar customs and language. In other words, these are the dimensions along which they found that children contrast themselves with other countries; these are the qualities of other countries which are retained from the massive information available to children about these countries. The authors also suggest that by looking at the countries children see as similar, one learns something about the child's stereotype of his own country. The perception of similarity between countries requires more ability to generalize than does consciousness of the difference between countries or groups because it involves placing one or more objects under the same category. Conceptual categorization is known to be a characteristic of cognitive development. In contrast, differences between countries can be perceived with less conceptual equipment.

A very important part of the results on similarity was their linkage of children's perceptions of nations as similar or dissimilar and the child's reported affection for these nations. In certain countries, only nations perceived as similar were nations to which children expressed any positive attitude or feeling. Children from the United States, however, stood first or second at all age levels in liking for foreign persons who were seen as dissimilar. The United States also scored relatively low on an ethnocentrism scale. They concluded that children in the United States, particularly those of about ten years of age, are particularly receptive to approaches to foreign people and are interested

in people who are dissimilar as well as those who are similar. They point out also that by the age of fourteen, the children appear somewhat less open to positive views of foreign nations and relate this to the growing teenage concern with conformity and with attitudes as a method of reference group solidarity.

Another major contribution of this study was to point out the stereotyping which occurs in children's attitudes. In fact, the most general conclusion of the book was that stereotyping probably begins by age six when the child begins to view his own country not as he views other countries and people.

> Since the child's own group is repeatedly compared with other groups, it becomes, we presume, the focal point of developing conception as its salient characteristics are magnified and stereotyped. We make this inference from our finding that the first signs of stereotyped thinking turned up in the description children gave of their own group rather than of foreign people; even at the six year age level many different national groups of children made over-generalized statements about the personality traits of their own group at the same time as they described foreign peoples in more factual objective terms. Thus, the stereotyping process itself appears to get its start in the early conceptions children develop of their own group, and it is only much later, from ten years of age and on, that children start stereotyping foreign people. (Lambert and Klineberg, 1967, pp. 223-224)

These authors used extensively two theoretical and experimental studies of the development of nationalism and prejudice to help in the interpretation of their descriptive data. They reviewed Piaget's suggestions that the young child assumes that the attitudes arising in his situation are the only possible one--an egocentric approach. Only later in childhood does he acquire the understanding, for example, that he would be foreign if he

visited another country and that others from different countries have different loyalties than his own. The authors do stress, however, the similarities of their findings to Piaget's idea that attitudes toward other countries may be derived vicariously and unsystematically from various information sources. They cite the work of Morse and Allport (1952) who found that exaggerated loyalty to one's own group or country, and the identification of one's self with the national interest was often a precursor of ethnic prejudice. This was a study of adults not children; however, these authors also found what they call a strong and general ingroup-outgroup feeling among certain of their respondents, which also connected with prejudice.

The majority of the work dealt with so far has concerned nations and political institutions as objects of loyalty about which children have information, attitudes, and affiliation. Let us move briefly to two studies of inter-group relations--one study of children's conceptions of war and a second study of international trade.

Cooper (1965) utilized Piaget's theoretical framework in an effort to trace the developing orientations of English and Japanese children ages seven to sixteen toward war. Cooper found that coherent responses to questions about war in English children began around six or seven years of age, and by age seven or eight war was clearly defined. Initial responses by the young related to the concrete objects of war such as airplanes. Increasingly with age, Cooper stated, these objects were displaced in favor of a recognition of the consequences and actions of war--

fighting, killing, dying. With the increased awareness of war's consequences came a negative view of aggression but with little reference to the international scene.

The concept of peace among English children, Cooper found, lagged behind the concept of war in its development. A view of peace as inactivity, freedom from stimuli, tranquility, relaxation, increased with age, then declined.

Concerning World War II, Cooper asked the English respondents to judge whether Japan and England were right in going to war. The older children, fourteen to sixteen, believed Japan was wrong to go to war while England was right, suggesting that for teenagers only a finite amount of morality exists for distribution among the conflicting parties. If the respondent knew of both Japan's and England's participation in World War II, the home country must have been morally correct and the other country morally wrong.

When English children were asked why England and Japan participated in the war, three categories of reasons were noted; 1) defense of country; 2) friendship and honor; and 3) aggresive attack. As age increased, the children saw Japanese participation as emanating from national pride, feelings of inferiority, and a desire to expand, while England's participation was seen as self defense. Along with the increasing acceptance of the defense-of-country rationale for England's participation in World War II by age, there was a growing justification of war by nation-states in general. While seventy percent of the eight-year-olds queried felt that no justification for war existed, only ten percent of

the fifteen-year-olds held this position.

> "The fifteen-year-olds are firm in their belief that war is justified to punish an aggressor in order to demonstrate to him his immorality, and as we have seen, the moral judgement presents little difficulty." (1965, p. 6)

Cooper suggests that the inculcation of patriotism becomes effective by ages nine or ten, and children begin to develop a "patriotic filter" which screens out negative images of the home country and induces the "we-they" dichotomy. From a casual perusal of history and geography materials from which the children were taught, Cooper concluded that the classroom reinforces this patriotic filter.

Analyzing his data, Cooper developed several descriptive hypotheses for future study. 1) Children learn games and competitive norms of play early in their lives which are applied to reasoning about war. In this context, nuclear and conventional wars are seen in the same light. 2) With developing cognitive skills, usually at the teenage level, war is related to conceptions of human psychology based upon hostile instinctual drives. 3) Hostile patriotism develops out of an awareness of protective defense and the need to punish attack. 4) The older children deny the potential for physical hazards to themselves via warfare because they lack experience and imagination as to fighting, killing, etc. 5) Finally, a linkage exists between personal, social, and international conflict in imagery and experience particularly for older children with an accompaniment of increasing justification for war.

In classrooms, the relation between the curriculum materials used, what actually goes on, and the retention and learning evidenced by a student is a crucial interaction. A study recently completed by Bellak (1966) is of particular interest. The research used a standard curriculum which was taught by each of fifteen teachers during the period of time when the research team was observing in the classrooms. A curriculum unit on international ecomonic problems with a stress on the value of free trade was used. Pupils were given before and after tests based in large part on materials in the booklets they had studied, as well as one question to ascertain their attitudes toward economics as a subject of study. In coding substantive meaning of teacher-student interactions the researchers found that all teachers devoted a fair proportion of their time to discussion relevant to trade, but there was great variation in the amount of time spent on specific topics. In one class exports and imports were discussed in 23.5 percent of the verbal interactions; in another class this topic occupied only .5 percent of the time. Free trade (basically the theme of the materials) was discussed in 38.4 percent of the interactions of one class and only in 4.7 percent of those of another--in spite of the fact that the curriculum guides and booklets were identical. The largest number of interactions were classified by the authors as substantive logical (meaning that the teacher was explaining and stating facts). Very few evaluative opinions were given by the teachers. There was no relationship between the particulars of classroom interaction and changes in attitudes toward economics on the part of

students. The authors predicted on the basis of IQ and pretest scores what the mean post-test scores of the different classes would be. Teachers of classes where the actual post-test mean was higher than the predicted mean had utilized fact stating and explaining to a lesser degree (67 percent compared with 81 percent) than teachers of classes scoring lower than predicted.

In summary, only the last five to ten years have shown real interest in both the process of national political socialization and in international socialization. Much of the work is simply developmentally descriptive--telling what children of different ages believe and feel about other countries. But as we learn enough of a descriptive nature, we must continue to be conerned with the process by which this socialization occurs.

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